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772 By far the most important instance of the lack of abstract divisions, which at the same time is the most difficult to approach with our way of feeling and thinking, is the relationship of human beings to animals and of the individual animal species to one another. We say the native anthropomorphizes in his "fairy tales," he lets the animals speak and act like human beings. This is all right from our point of view, but if we were to believe that he gives animals human traits only for the purpose of telling a good story, this would be a tremendous misunderstanding, it would mean nothing more and nothing less than that we are denying him all his belief and knowledge: his belief for he has the same confidence in the wonderful stories that he tells about animals as every confirmed Christian has in the miracles of the Bible; his knowledge, for he could as little conceive of the world around him without his fairy-tale animals as the physicist the centers of energy without the atoms of matter -- si parva licet componere magnis /if it be permitted to compare small things with great ones/.

We must imagine that there are no boundaries at all between man and animal. An animal may be cleverer or more stupid, stronger or weaker, than the Indian, it may have an entirely different way of life, but in his eyes it is a person, exactly as he is; the animals are united, like human beings, in families and tribes, they have different languages, just like human tribes, but human being, jaguar, deer, bird, fish, they are all only persons of different appearance and different characteristics. One need only be a medicine man who can do everything, then one can change oneself from one person into another, then one will also understand all the languages spoken in the forest or in the air or in the water. The underlying reason for this view is that there [812] is as yet no ethical humanity; there is goodness and badness only in the crude sense that one causes another displeasure or pleasure, but moral judgment and ideal volition, influenced either by the prospect of reward or the fear of punishment, are altogether lacking. In that case, why should an insurmountable barrier between man and animal be assumed? The external observation of the

2: Steinen--630 E,D-5 (1884, 1887-1889) 1894 SP? Bacairi 577

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539 more natural than that the tatú, well known for quickly digging itself in, should, as soon as it eludes its pursuer, make a group of those star holes. All that was missing for establishing the game of escape and pursuit was the quarrel, and the "apple of discord," for which again is chosen the favorite fruit, which is round and has butter-yellow meat, but any other might have been chosen. In short, the story originates, without any great power of invention, by making a connection between the characteristics of one of the heavenly animals that presented itself through the natural stimulus and a suitable group of stars that attracts the attention of the inquiring mind. Then the name runs "the giant armadillo comes out." All that is required is the interest that produces the question, and the explanatory ideas are inevitable.

993 128 One generation may have contributed this, another generation that. To continue the analysis up to the final details is simply impossible, if one because the comparative material with other Karaiben tribes is very meager.

961 655 512 Transformation. A large part of the Bakairí explanation of nature rests on the supposition of sorcery. They have no development, but only transformation. This takes place in two ways.

The first is that a dead person is blown upon and comes to life, or that a thing is blown upon and comes to life. To the dead person the breath which he lacks is given back; to the thing, breath is imparted and with it life. This blowing, proceeding from the most natural attempt at resuscitation, and the tobacco-blowing of the modern medicine man must not be confused. The weak newborn babies in Maigéri (cf. p. 392), for whose life one feared, were blown upon day and night, but not with tobacco. It was only in practice that the two methods merged. The blowing of tobacco smoke on a patient was merely added by transference to the smoking of the doctor -- which, as we have seen (cf. p. 407), is merely the easiest and most pleasant of the various types of narcosis otherwise induced by drinking, on the use of which his art seems to be based. It has probably long been forgotten that by

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761 blowing it was intended to breathe in the breath. But in the
755 legends the dead and things are always brought to life by simple
812 but indispensable blowing, and the Bakaïrí sometimes translates epeheni, "to blow," into the Portuguese with rezar, "to pray, to bless," while ordinarily he uses soprar, "to blow," or assoprar, "to blow upon," just as the substantive related to epeheni is sapehénu, "wind."

Although I said that things become living or animate through blowing, on closer observation this is a very incorrect expression. The /363/ sorcerer accomplishes far more than breathing a "soul"
773 or, as into the dead, "life," into them. We learn this from the
812 most important example that human beings are made from things: men from arrows, women from maize pestles, after the necessary arrows and pestles have been carved out of cane and wood. To be sure, there were always Bakaïrí, but if there was a scarcity of them, the culture hero made new ones by fashioning arrows out of ubá reed, thrusting them upright into the ground, and blowing on them. In the same way each of the other tribes were made out of the arrow reed that they still carry today and that therefore still differentiates them today; the European was made from a wood resembling the stock of his gun. The fundamental
[69] observation, which is later, as always, regarded as confirmation of the proceedings described, is that the tribes are differentiated by their arrows. Moreover, the arrow is the characteristic feature of the man. The women, on the other hand, come into being when maize pestles are carved, set upright against the mortar, and get the breath of life by being blown upon; those carved out of good wood start working immediately, the others are idle.

Neither arrows nor pestles are given a "soul," but rather the whole "person." When the sorcerer is finished, the man stands beside his arrow, the woman beside her pestle. The story-teller himself seems to be not entirely at ease about the process, for the sorcerer, as soon as he has blown, "goes to one side a little" and upon his return finds the men or women finished. An insect, which through mimicry has come to look like a jatobá leaf and is called "jatobá leaf" by the Bakaïrí, was created by blowing on the leaf; we might say "it came alive" or call it a "transformed leaf." The person is added to the already present reed, wood, leaf.

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812 I mean to say that these cases are essentially different from those in the legends where things are "personified," that is, speak and act like animal and human being. The falling turtle of the Amazon legend sees a boulder in the direction of her fall and calls out to it: "Get out of my way!" Obediently the stone removes itself and she falls on soft ground. The stone, which understands her words, could also have replied. Keri quarrels with the sky and, angered, goes over to the earth with his people, where the Bakaïrí, as a result, live today. The wind is called in order to tear down a tree. In these cases there is no blowing or sorcery. The storyteller lets the things hear, speak, in order to say that they do or do not want something, are tractable or refractory, and need not realize, as we do, that he is thus endowing them with a "soul." "How could the sky talk?" "I don't know, at that time it talked." More was not to be learned from Antonio. If today in ordinary life a thing suddenly causes harm, that is the fault of an evil sorcerer, whereas an animal acts by itself.

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812 /364/ The second type of transformation is that of the sorcerer himself into any animal shape desired. No one seems to know how he does this. He does not actually become the animal itself, however; he always goes into the animal and is always implanted in the animal; in fact, he can be in the foot of the tapir and seize the vulture. Now does the "soul" go out of one person and into the other? But in that case at least we ought not ask either where the soul of the animal or where the body of the culture hero remains, or whether the "shade," which in the case of the modern, narcotized medicine man lying in the hammock leaves the body for the transformation into jaguar or snake, was previously "inside" the medicine man, or whether the shade can get inside an animal- - I believe we are overdoing a good thing if we speak of the activities of the "soul" among primitive peo-
[774] ples. I, at any rate, merely had the impression that with regard to the "soul" the Indians sometimes think of the shade, sometimes of the breath, but do not account for all the specific details, and instead always preserve the image of the entire "living" personality. It seems to me one comes closest to the real situation if one

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754 imagines the sorcerer as being in an animal approximately like the
756 Indian in an animal mask, who now is a dove, for example, and
● 812 behaves like a dove in voice and movement, but remains fellow tribesman X and is therefore able to fetch a gourd bowl full of pogu from the women, although he is a bird.

713 Keri and Kame and the ancestor legend. The general
[712] basis of the world view of the Bakaïrí is his relationship to animal life. It assumes, however, one might say, that his science and poetry are of heavenly origin. The oldest Bakaïrí lived in heaven; this is proved to us by all that we know about the sun and moon, and everything that we see up there, the figures of the Milky Way, the starless areas, and the shining Magellanic Clouds. Strangely enough, there was nothing to be discovered in the way of ideas about thunderstorms, windstorms, clouds, rain, which are productive in a similar sense among other peoples. One had the impression that meteorology was still quite unexplored. There always remained the astronomical heavenly animals, to which were added the personages of the ancestor legend. The second main source of legend material flows in the memories of the tribe, but the two streams are so tightly intermingled that it is scarcely possible to distinguish what was originally supplied by the one and what by the other. The jaguar, behind which is concealed a cannibalistic neighboring tribe of ancient times, has become one with the jaguar of the Milky Way and to top it all, the zoological varieties of the jaguar family are available as a number of brothers.

[711] The names Keri and Kame show that foreign, and, to be sure, Aruak influence has played a significant role. These are the names for moon and sun of the Nu-Aruak tribes; they are not Karaiben /365/ words at all.* A coincidence is completely

*Cf. Bakaïrí-Grammatik /Bakaïrí Grammar/, p. 57. The Island Karaiben have a benign "deity," ischeiri, which can scarcely be connected with keri phonetically; if there is a connection and ischeiri is ancient